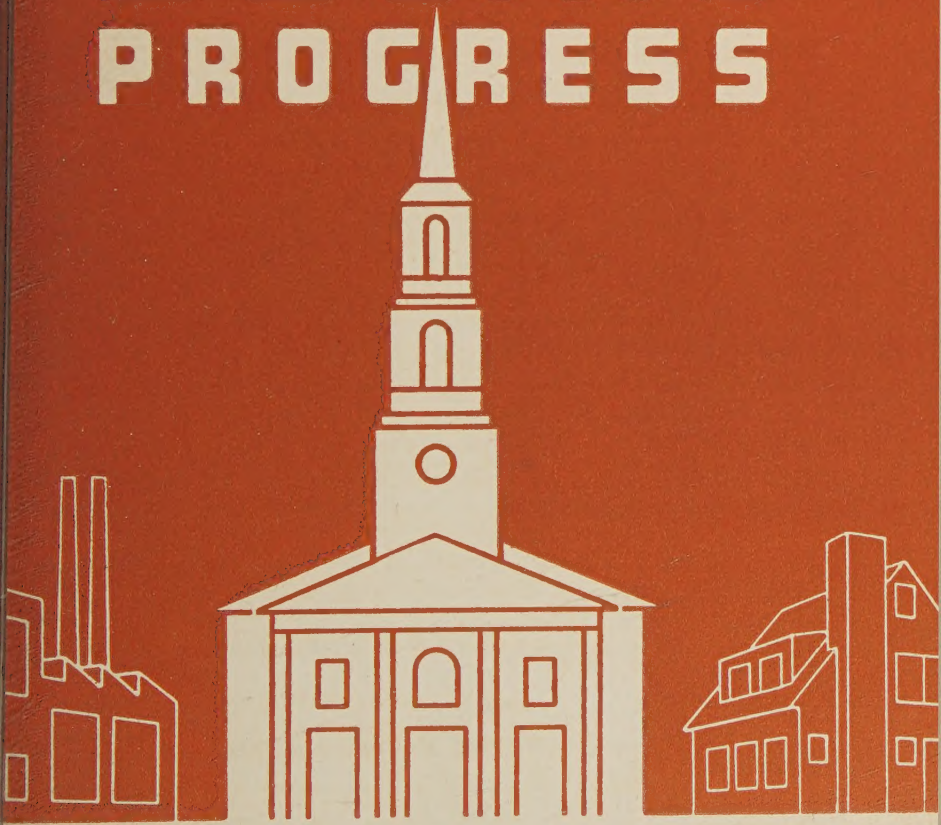
SOCIAL PROGRESS



nol the Destroyer
Private Collectivism": A Challenge
ement for World Order

OCTOBER 1944

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Social Progress

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SOCIAL PROGRESS

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Realism in Foreign Affairs

By John Paul Jones *

TODAY the press and the radio give us news of a world at war. Tomorrow they will be telling us of the armistice that brings peace to the world again. But the terms war and peace are very misleading. At times they are a snare and a delusion. In September, 1939, the world at war entered its second major military ordeal. The first military ordeal ended on November 11, 1918. But the war did not end. The war was fought in other ways and in many moods. The very nature of these means and moods made the second military ordeal inevitable. When it ends it will not give us a peaceful world. The world has not been at peace in the times that we have known. It will not be at peace on any day that any of us will live to see. Far from being a peaceful world it is and will be a world full of strife and conflict.

I know that words come to have relevant rather than absolute meanings. I know there is a measure of mutual understanding in the conventional use of the terms war and peace. But I believe this understanding is fatally jeopardized by inevitable misconceptions. When the present military war ends it will end for one reason only. One side or the other will be knocked out. It will, of course, be the Axis side. The Germans and Japanese will not quit fighting because they cease to believe in what they are fighting for, or because their attitudes and convictions suddenly change. They will quit because they cannot fight any longer in a military way. But does anybody doubt that the war will go on by other means and on both sides? It will not be peace that we get with the armistice. It will be a cessation of military war. And exactly how the war will be continued is one of the things we cannot predict with any confidence.

* Minister, Union Presbyterian Church, Bay Ridge, New York, and President of the National Peace Conference. Introductory statement made before the Spring Institute, 1944, of the National Peace Conference.

The all but universal abhorrence and dread of military war is not an evidence of cowardice but a tribute to the nobler side of man. It takes no great insight to recognize that brute force, mass slaughter, and wholesale destruction are not in keeping with the essential nature and spirit of humankind. Because the military phase of human strife is nonmoral and nonrational, it invites chaos and regression. Most of us today do not yet fully comprehend the frightfulness or the monstrous evil of the present ordeal. The only thing we can know for certain is that the legacy of this war will not be good, that armistice will not bring peace, that the fundamental conflicts between peoples and nations will not be resolved. In tomorrow's world we shall not be relieved of dealing with war. We can only have something to say about how much war and what kind of war.

Hope of a Better World

Men of Good Will. Now over against this somber picture there are two realities which form the grounds for hope of a better world. One is the fact that there is in the world an innumerable company of people of good will. If some of these people could gain control, they would greatly modify and lessen the evil of war. They would set our feet on the path toward a new age which with some semblance of reality might be called an age of peace. There are other people of good will who i spite of their best intentions woul probably only add more conflict t our world of strife. Good will c itself, merely as a spirit and motive is insufficient. People of good wil must be idealistic, intelligent, cou rageous, and more than normall energetic. But let me return to thi in a moment.

Government. The second facto that offers ground for hope of better world is that there exists cumulative tradition, experienc and achievement of government. Th story of human society is lighted u by the fact that humanity has learne and put into practice lessons of orde and self-control. Government is on of the greatest of all human achieve ments. It is great in part because removes some of the causes of strif conflict, and warfare. But more im portant than this, government finc ways to mitigate strife and arbitrat conflicts, to qualify and limit th arbitrament of brute force, and t resolve social conflicts through ra tional and moral weapons. Gover ments have not anywhere done awa with strife and conflict. They *hav* supplied something better than th reign of tooth and claw in resolvin the conflict. By and large the co flicts have not been resolved. The have been compromised without th shedding of blood and the breakin of heads. But, of course, there ha never been international governme in this sense.

The Function of Government

The indispensable task ahead of us is to extend and refine the principle of government. In the international realm the extension must come first. The inevitable human conflicts from the struggle for bread to the clash of ideals must be brought under control. The world must be organized even as a community or a nation. Within a framework of law and order we must learn how to relieve tension, resolve feuds, arbitrate opinions, promote justice, and teach cooperation. Warfare can then be greatly mitigated and modified. The people of good will must lead in the process.

The nature of the job ought to make it clear why people of good will must be idealistic, intelligent, courageous, and tireless. If any one of these elements is lacking, we are defeated. We must know what it is that we are working for, and why. We must do the right thing. We must be willing and able to suffer for the right thing, and we must work in season and out of season. Even so, we shall not bring peace to the world. We may, however, keep violence within bounds, segregate and control force, and teach the world that it is far better to suffer many things than resort to the fatal arbitrament of military conflict.

Draw an analogy from a nation, say the United States. We do not have a condition of blissful peace within the nation today or at any other time. We have warfare in industry and warfare between races. We have the fury of political opinion. We are torn with a hundred dissensions. Our interests and our desires conflict. It is literally true that some Americans hate other Americans more than any American hates any foreigner. But government does wonders. It resolves the conflicts but not always by settling the issues or solving the problem. We have not always done it but very nearly. Once we indulged in mass slaughter for four years, and we suffer the penalties of it three quarters of a century later. No, we do not have peace, but we have the control of conflict, the mitigation of strife, ways and means of avoiding mutual destruction. Government has done this.

Let us then not delude ourselves with nice words or sentimentality. Let us be realistic. We must work for order and government in world affairs to prevent the inevitable conflicts of nations and peoples from resulting in mutual destruction. We must work for the kind of postwar organization and international cooperation which may cope with strife, tension, aggression, defense, and a score of other problems without aggravating ten or a hundred evils while trying to remove one.

At bottom it is some kind of government that we must have. We must find the means of government and secure among the world's peoples the will to support it.

After Election — What?

By Benson Y. Landis *

ONE might paraphrase what Mazzini said about victory and say, in opening this discussion, that "the morrow of the election is more dangerous than the eve." For then it is that hosts of people sensitive to ethical and religious value take a rest. After the election we are also supposed to forget the terrible things we have said about our misguided neighbors who disagree with us, and what they have said about us.

We of the Churches face the continuing tasks of achieving good government and of educating so as to provide ethical guidance in determining alternatives of political action. The Church is in the world to save the world. It therefore cannot ignore education that has a political aspect, even though it should very seldom associate itself with the fortunes of any one political party or of any one candidate for office.

It should be evident, too, in this connection, that the election of "good men" to office is an inadequate program. In Nova Scotia there is a Catholic college which has been carrying on a significant program of adult education. It has been said of the faculty of St. Francis Xavier University that it has "the right kind of good men." They are good men who are asking for right social and economic relationships and arrangements, as well as cultivating great thoughts in the hearts of their fellowmen.

The common interests of American citizens, even in this day of stress and strain, are numerous. The Church is one of the agencies interested in promoting the general welfare which can help to discover and cultivate the common interests of citizens.

Legislation. In the practical task of citizenship women have the advantage over men. They may join the League of Women Voters. Lately the League of Women Voters has begun publication of a magazine called *Trends*,[1] which discusses pending legislation and which, we understand, is available to persons of both sexes. We men may have our wives join the League and thus learn from them, and we may also take this magazine. We may also keep in touch with bills pending through *Social Progress* and the Information Service of the Federal Council of Churches.

Political Parties. It is our duty to consider our responsibility for membership in a political party. It has been the vogue in some circles to cultivate independence. There are

* Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

[1] National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C. $1.00 a year.

said to be sections of states in which the independent voters outnumber those regularly enrolled in any political party. But only those enrolled in a party may in some states vote in that party's primary elections. It is significant that many Christian lay leaders are now earnestly recommending membership in a political party.

Pressure Groups. We may work to insert public-interest planks among the private-interest programs of the pressure groups to which we belong. Recently a small group interested in Secretary Hull's reciprocal trade program went to an economic group and said: "We believe that the reciprocal trade program will hurt some members of your group. We also believe that the reciprocal trade program will help many more people than it will hurt. Therefore we think you ought to support it." The organization decided to support it.

Economic Collaboration. We may encourage the collaboration of leaders of all economic groups. A number of such meetings have been held quietly on an informal basis. Representatives of all economic groups have been invited. Such meetings are a good thing if they only permit these people to come to know one another. It is also important that whenever economic groups meet together the organized consumers are not neglected. It is possible, for example, for capital and labor to collaborate so closely that they will exploit agriculture and consumers generally.

World Organization for Peace. We may take a special interest in the formation of an international organization. We may especially become interested in the practical steps whereby a working organization will be created. Lately the Churches have shown a commendable interest in supporting the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. They may do the same in assisting the beginnings of collaboration among the United Nations on projects involving food and nutrition, as recommended by the Hot Springs Food Conference. These are stepping stones. If we take the proper first steps, we may eventually achieve a more elaborate international organization.

Social and Political Issues. We may engage in independent study of social issues which have a political as well as a moral aspect. One subject might be social security. Why have some Churches declared themselves in favor of social security for workers and then been uninterested in providing social security for the employees of Churches? Recently an opponent of the Farm Security Administration said it was the interest of Church women in that program that helped to turn the tide in favor of that agency. Church people have more influence than they are aware of. Urban people might take

up some unpopular subjects, such as American agriculture. It has been said that it is easy to interest a city group in a minority in Bulgaria, but very hard to secure interest in farm people fifty miles away.

Taxes and Tax Programs. There are ethical issues in all tax programs. Which tax system will provide incentives for wide employment? Which free enterprise order should we have—one based on cooperative association of individuals for creative sharing of the good things of earth, or one that emphasizes the private interests of individuals? How much socialization of property should there be? Does a "mixed economy" provide us with the greatest safeguards of liberty a well as give us certain elements c security?

The Church's Function. "Churc plans" are necessarily different fro other plans. The nature of th Church is such that it cannot dra blueprints or endorse many specifi programs. The Church represen both sexes and all ages. But th Churches may supply certain esse tials without which plans are of n value. Churches may cultivat mutual understanding, reconcili tion, and wide collaboration. The may pioneer in the search for th public interest and provide th reverent atmosphere in which peop may help one another.

Higginbottom — Pioneer

SAM HIGGINBOTTOM, noted agricultural missionary in India under Th Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, retires from the principalshi of Allahabad Agricultural Institute, October 27, 1944.

On their many trips across the United States, speaking in behalf of th farmer and the leper of India, the Higginbottoms have endeared themselv to America in a way equaled by few missionaries in recent years.

In recognition of their service the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. planning a recognition program which will strengthen the Agricultural I stitute which the Higginbottoms have devoted their lives to developing.

The proceeds of this recognition program, which it is hoped will tot $155,000, will be used to enable the institute to double the size of its stude body. In recent years it has had seven times as many applicants as it w in a position to accept.

Churches across the country are urged to celebrate Dr. Higginbottom seventieth birthday on Friday, October 27, and to take an active part in th recognition program. For information write to the Higginbottom Recogn tion Program, Room 1032, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

Alcohol the Destroyer

By J. Hoyt Boles *

IN A Texas city the other day I stood at my hotel-room window and watched the billboard man put up a new sign. What I saw made my blood boil. The new sign showed an American soldier in fighting pose on some far-flung battle front. He was made to speak to the people of that county in Texas, who were to have a local option election in a few days. The soldier was saying: "Please leave my county the way I left it. Give me a chance when I get home. Vote against prohibition." I resented this scene in the first place because the "liquor crowd" dared to try to speak for millions of young men in the armed forces. I resented it also because they were hiding under the guise of patriotism, while the alcohol traffic is, in my opinion, the most subversive element in America today. I resented it because the attitude of mind represented on that billboard is a travesty on the character, habits, and intelligence of the overwhelming majority of our men in the service of their country.

Of all people to claim to be interested in the welfare of our men in military service the people who traffic in alcoholic beverage and its victims ought to be the last. In a recent local option campaign in our city we used as a slogan, "Hitler, Tojo, and Liquor, these three; and the worst of these is Liquor." Naturally, the "wets" thought this was a little too strong. So did some "drys." However, the more you consider the destructive powers of alcohol, the more you agree with the slogan. Alcohol is truly a destroyer.

In the summer of 1942 an American aviator, fighting for his life against Japanese odds over the Pacific, stayed in the air for 45 minutes before he was shot down. A witness reports that he was shot down, not because he was a poorer flier, not because he had less courage, not because he had a lesser cause to defend, but because of his inferior equipment, and lack of equipment at the base so that no one could go to his rescue. Yet, there was plenty of good American beer at that post, which had used valuable shipping tonnage while our men were literally dying for lack of supplies.

Any flier will tell you that he does not need to drink more than two bottles of beer the night before to feel it when he goes up the next day. He will tell you that, whereas he is sober and clear-headed on the ground, when he reaches high altitude and begins to maneuver the ship, he actually "blacks out" on maneuvers that would not bother him

* Minister, Hemphill Presbyterian Church, Fort Worth, Texas.

if he had not been drinking for several hours before.

Thus alcohol is destroying the lives of our finest young men daily. Yet if you listen to some "brass hats" and high officials, you will believe that the brewers and distillers are winning the war for us right now.

Alcohol is also destroying integrity and wisdom in government—Federal, state, and municipal. Anyone who doubts that the traffic is getting a strangle hold on government needs only to visit his state legislature and try to get some laws passed that will in any way restrain, control, or prohibit the sale of alcoholic beverages, or make it easier to call and hold a fair local option election. He will soon see how many of the legislators will squirm and side-step and discourage. The handwriting is on the wall; it is very plain; and our Christian citizenry would do well to read it.

Last April a minister opened a little mission next door to a tavern in a Texas city. He held services nightly. It was his habit to walk back and forth in front of the tavern and pass out Bible tracts before he began his services. One evening, about thirty minutes before time for his service, a city police car drove up in front of the tavern. Presently a man came out of the tavern and talked to the two officers in the car a few minutes and went away. Then the officers called the minister over to the car and told him he was wanted down at headquarters. When he asked why, he was told to shut up and get into his car. He told them who he was and what he was doing. He produced witnesses to identify him. He asked them not to take him then as he had to start services in a few minutes, but they forced him into the car and he was detained at the city hall until it was too late to hold his Church services. Then, called before the desk sergeant, he identified himself again and was told that some mistake had been made and that he could go. Later, other ministers in the city called on the chief of police and asked that the arresting officers be handled properly and that due apologies be made. But they were told that it was just an honest mistake, that nothing was going to be done.

Alcohol is now making rapid inroads on the press, radio, and movies. In nearly every case when you fight the liquor crowd in a local option campaign you are also fighting the local newspapers, radio stations, and motion picture theaters. Try it and see what happens in your community. Alcohol is fast destroying the channels of free communications and decent public amusements.

The alcohol traffic is already deeply entrenched and is a tough foe to eradicate. It is directly and indirectly related to many other groups in the commercial and political world and has many strong allies because of its strangle hold on them

It victimizes its customers and so has no competition. Once it is in a man's life, it knows no competitors: neither shoes, nor car, nor rent, nor clothes, nor groceries, nor wife, nor child. Its profits are exorbitant; it can spend any amount of money to propagandize, advertise, fight, bribe, defend, throttle. Do not be misled about the high taxes alcohol pays; the brewer and distiller do not pay one dime in taxes; the poor devil who is under their spell pays the taxes every time he buys a drink.

The liquor traffic is difficult to wipe out because many good people are not aware of its viciousness and power, or knowing, they do not care enough to take a stand against it. The alcoholic beverage traffic is public enemy number one. Intelligent Christian people should fight it with every weapon: education, regeneration, and legislation.

Now, I can hear some good minister or layman say, "You can't legislate righteousness; you can't make people good by passing laws; the place and business of the Church is redemption and education." I agree with all of that sentiment, and one day I stopped there too. Yet, some time ago, I discovered that, as a Christian fighting the evils of a vicious traffic, I had a vulnerable spot in my armor as long as I did not take a public stand, denounce it, and do all in my power to outlaw it.

Under present conditions you can teach your children until you are hoarse, and inspire with all Christian appeal; then when they go out of your home or Church, every billboard tells them you are wrong. The newspapers, the radio, the movies, and everything from Washington to your own city hall is saying to your children, "Your daddy is a liar; your preacher is a liar; your Sunday School teacher is a liar. This stuff is not bad; it is not wrong to drink it; why, it is legal. It is the sociable thing. It is a sign of culture, intellectual maturity, smartness, and daring." Under present conditions we teach them the wrong and dangers of drinking alcohol, and then send them out into a society that reeks with so much delectable temptation to drink it that we virtually ask the impossible of them.

Why not outlaw liquor and thus say that what we teach is true and that we are going to make it as easy as possible for young people to follow the teaching?

I know of no good liquor has ever done. I have seen the multiple hells it has produced in homes and lives. I have buried its wrecks. I have fed and clothed its orphans. I have tried to comfort its deserted wives and children. I have spent sleepless nights with its victims. I have seen the death-dealing sin of it, so I fight it with all I have. I hate no person engaged in the traffic, but I hate the traffic, and I wish all people would get out of it and into something constructive and not destructive.

Questions About Conscription

By Richard R. Wood *

CONSCRIPTION for military service is being proposed as a permanent policy for the United States after the war, and such measures as the May Bill, now before Congress, indicate the trend.

Before deciding to adopt conscription as a permanent policy, considerations of national welfare impose on us the duty of asking some questions about it. That they have been overlooked is striking evidence of the uncritical acceptance generally given to proposals like conscription that are assumed to be patriotic because they are military. In raising these questions it must be insisted that it is conscription as a permanent policy which is under discussion, and not conscription as a temporary emergency measure, which is an entirely different matter in its nature and consequences.

I. Conscription and Victory

Conscription for military service is usually regarded as a sort of safeguard against defeat. It is urgently important to ask whether conscription as a permanent policy is not a pretty serious guarantee against victory.

Conscription in the sense in which it is now used is only about one hundred and fifty years old. It was developed by France in the Napoleonic Wars. This century and a half of conscription history raises some questions. It would be interesting to know of a case in which a nation with conscription as a permanent policy won a war against a nation which resorted to conscription as an emergency measure if at all.

France, inventor of modern conscription, was eventually defeated in the Napoleonic Wars by Great Britain without resort to conscription. In the War of 1914-1918 Germany, with conscription as a permanent policy, was eventually defeated by Great Britain and the United States, which adopted conscription only as a wartime emergency measure after becoming involved in the war. In 1940, France, with conscription one hundred and fifty years old, was defeated by Germany with a conscription system revived after some eighteen years of freedom from it. It now looks as if Germany, with conscription four years older, is facing defeat by Great Britain and the United States with conscription adopted, this time, it is true, before actual involvement in the war, but as a temporary measure for the emergency. The other wars of the nineteenth century are not evidence either way. This history is

* Secretary, Friends' Peace Committee, Philadelphia.

of course, too short to be conclusive, but it does suggest that conscription goes far to assure defeat.

II. Conscription and Military Efficiency

Professor E. H. Carr, in his book *Conditions of Peace*, states that it is impossible to overestimate the military advantage to Germany of the disarmament imposed upon her by the Versailles Treaty, because it freed her from old equipment, old methods, and old ideas. It is a fair question whether conscription was not an important cause of the fall of France. In March, 1940, the French Army was regarded as the finest in Europe; by July, 1940, it had ceased to exist.

We now know that the French Army in 1940 was not equipped for the kind of war that was being fought in 1940. But M. Pierre Cot, French Minister of Aviation, has assured us that French industry, while less powerful than German industry, was supplying the French Army with precisely the supplies the French military authorities asked for. We are told that General de Gaulle developed the theory of the blitzkrieg. The French officers read de Gaulle's book, but the German Army applied his theories. Why? Is not part of the answer to be found in the fact that the French Army was protected by conscription from constructive criticism?

When every man has to go into the army very few men can afford to criticize. If they have themselves completed their military service, they have sons or relatives about to undergo it, and there is a tendency to soft-pedal criticism that may make for personal unpleasantness. A military bureaucracy is like every other bureaucracy: it tends to settle down into comfortable routine unless shaken out of its rest by emergencies.

The fall of France at least suggests that the expectation is well founded that a nation in which conscription is long-established is at a serious disadvantage in military efficiency when war actually occurs.

III. Conscription and Preparedness

The detrimental effect of conscription on military efficiency is aggravated by modern technical warfare.

The blitzkrieg makes possible, at least in theory, final victory in the first onset. This means that preparedness for defense must be as total, and as ready for instantaneous action, as preparation for attack, *so long as nations seek security in their own armed power.*

Can a military bureaucracy successfully direct such total preparation involving organization of the whole life of the country for war, when it is protected by conscription from constructive criticism? The fall of France suggests that it cannot.

The effectiveness of the war effort

of the United States and Great Britain, unhampered by conscription, confirms that suggestion.

IV. Conscription and the Organization of Peace

There is good reason to fear that the military control of all national life inherent in a system of conscription applied to the economic and industrial preparation for modern war will be definitely unfavorable to the policies and duties of maintaining peace. The French experience again provides an instructive illustration. French military leaders browbeat and humiliated the peace-seeking German republic and tried to appease Hitler when he threatened to use force. The French system, based on conscription, frustrated the efforts to make peace in Europe, while proving itself incapable of waging war successfully.

V. Conscription and National Morale

Another claim requires careful scrutiny. It is that conscription is a means of strengthening national unity.

Twice in France in time of peace the government dealt with railroad strikes by simply mobilizing the strikers. This was possible under conscription; it converted a labor dispute into mutiny against the state. One doubts whether this strengthened the sense of national unity of the workers of France.

The disunity in France just before her fall is commonly attributed t political corruption; but one won ders whether one hundred and fift years of permanent conscription di not contribute its full share to th corruption. Political honesty re quires, not the discipline imposed b the drill sergeant, but the self discipline developed in men who fo low their consciences, do what the believe to be right, and take the con sequences. Such self-discipline i not encouraged by a system that re quires every man to conform durin the formative stage of his life.

We have said that permanent con scription is not associated wit victory; that it seems rather to mak for military inefficiency and to mak less effective the conscript nation preparations for war; that it en courages reliance on armed forc and discourages the sort of worl organization that is necessary for th prevention of war and the mai tenance of peace; and finally tha permament conscription is to be sus pected at least of weakening nationa unity and the self-discipline on whic political honesty depends.

It is of the greatest importance fo the welfare and safety of the Unite States that these doubts be raise now, before a radical departure fro traditional American policy is mad and before our country is plunge into the evil consequences that see to result from permanent conscri tion for military service.

"No Private Collectivism": A Challenge

*By Clair Wilcox**

From The New York Times Magazine, *March 19, 1944.*
Used with permission.

AMERICA should return, at the end of the war, to a system of free private enterprise, a system in which venture capital seeks profits at the risk of incurring losses in open competition. So we are being told, repeatedly and emphatically, by those who are qualified to speak with authority for American business.

The current insistence upon this theme requires some explanation. The great bulk of the nation's industry is in private hands. The groups who advocate socialization are in a hopeless minority. The people as a whole have not questioned freedom of enterprise, nor is there any sign that they are likely to do so. Why, then, do businessmen feel called upon to reaffirm their faith?

It is possible, of course, that some of the evangelists of business are employing the gospel of free enterprise as a cloak to conceal their efforts to repeal social legislation and to destroy wartime controls. But surely the business community in general must recognize that many, if not most, of the social reforms enacted during the past decade were necessary and inevitable. And it must realize that to precipitate an abandonment of wartime controls would spell disaster, not only for the worker, the saver, and the consumer, but also for business itself.

The plea for private enterprise must therefore be taken at its face value. And its reiteration must be explained by causes that are more fundamental than resentment against permanent regulation and irritation with temporary restraints. Of these causes, four deserve mention.

The first is the experience of the depression. In 1933 some fifteen million workers were unemployed. From then on income was provided and jobs were supplied at public expense. At one time a quarter of our population depended for its livelihood upon the public treasury. And, at one time or another, eight million persons found work through the WPA. This experience will not be forgotten. If private enterprise does not succeed in providing something approaching full employment during the years that follow the war, the state will again be called upon to care for the needy and to undertake activities that will make work.

A second factor is the emergence during the thirties of an influential

* Professor of Economics, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

school of thought which holds that private enterprise functions adequately only in an expanding economy, that our economy has outgrown the phase of expansion and arrived at maturity, that savings in a mature economy will always tend to outrun investment, and that industry will therefore be condemned to a low level of production unless government assumes responsibility for the maintenance of employment.

According to this view, it is the function of the state to employ its fiscal policy as a means of stabilizing business, retiring its debt in good times and spending heavily in bad, discouraging saving by progressive taxation and increasing investment by constructing public works. Such a policy therefore points toward an expansion of public, rather than private, enterprise.

The contrast between the peacetime and the wartime performance of American industry presents a similar challenge. We have doubled our production of goods and services in the past four years. Our present output for war is as great as our entire national product in any year before the war. And, on top of this, we are producing more civilian goods and services than we did before Pearl Harbor, twice as many as we did in the trough of the depression—ten years ago.

One can only speculate on what we could have done with this tremendous output if we could have devoted it to purposes other than waging war. We are now producing enough to provide every family in the United States with an income of $5,000 a year. We have demonstrated beyond doubt that we have it within our power to abolish poverty, to provide all of our people with health and decency in housing, clothing, nutrition, and medical care, to afford real equality of educational opportunity, and to insure security against unemployment, sickness, and old age. But this miracle of production has not been worked by private enterprise alone. It has been ordered, directed, and financed by the state. Business has still to demonstrate that it can equal this performance on its own.

A final cause of concern is the prospect of the postwar comparison between socialism in Russia and private enterprise in Great Britain and the United States. Whatever the shortcomings of the Russian system—and they are many—it has one outstanding merit: it can unquestionably provide full employment. And whatever the merits of the system of private enterprise—and they, too, are many—it has had one serious defect: it has never succeeded in maintaining full employment. This difference is so important, this contrast is so glaring, that its persistence might well threaten the survival of private enterprise in the Western World.

There is reason, then, for a re-

examination of the philosophy of economic individualism and a reaffirmation of faith. Just what does private enterprise promise? And what does it imply?

The case for private enterprise has often been stated. It is a system under which businessmen assemble capital and labor and direct them toward the production of those goods and services that have been freely chosen by consumers. It makes for economic progress because it keeps the door open to new products and new processes, to new materials and new machines, to new blood and new ideas. It eliminates waste, enhances efficiency, and cuts costs. It raises quality, reduces prices, and brings about an ever-widening distribution of the products of industry. It thus combines the greatest possible economy in the utilization of resources with the greatest possible satisfaction of human wants.

In theory the advantages of such a system are great. But in practice they are not to be realized unless the conditions essential to the effective operation of the system are fulfilled. Freedom, privacy, enterprise, venture capital, profit and loss, competition—what do these phrases imply?

Freedom of enterprise means that new firms are free to enter an industry and that old firms are free to leave it, that there are no artificial barriers either to investment or to bankruptcy. Privacy of enterprise means that business stands on its own two feet, that it does not lean for support upon a governmental crutch. Enterprise means innovation, change, progress; it carries with it no guarantee of security. Venture capital ventures; it is hazarded in an uncertain undertaking, not invested in a sure thing. A profit-and-loss system is one in which businessmen are prepared not only to make a profit but also to incur a loss. Competition, finally, means that each enterprise acts independently; that there are no understandings, explicit or implicit, concerning production or price.

The businessman has long rendered lip service to economic individualism. But he has seldom been willing to accept its implications. All too frequently he has interpreted freedom of enterprise as freedom from competition, not as freedom to compete. And he has sought, by establishing private restraints and by enlisting the support of the state, to avoid adventure and achieve security, to obtain profits without risking loss, to retain privacy without displaying enterprise, to have his cake and eat it too. . . .

Business has sought not to achieve full employment of the nation's resources but to protect the capital value of invested funds. It has attempted to serve this purpose not by taking a small margin of profit on a large volume of output but by taking a large margin on a small volume.

(Continued on page 25)

For Tim

November Fifth, Day of Decision

Most readers have already decided which Presidentia candidate will receive their votes on Election Day But their responsibility does not stop there. O November 5 the entire membership of the House of Representatives and on third of the Senate comes up for election. In the light of the issues impend ing before this nation, both domestic and international, the character of eac member of Congress is of obvious importance. This is strikingly evidence in the provision that a minority of one third of the Senate can defeat a pro posed treaty. It is quite possible for the American people to have an inter nationalist-minded President, for example, and a nationalist-minded Con gress—as in 1919.

What our state legislators do tends to affect us often in a more intimat way than what our representatives in Washington do. The point can b maintained that the sum of the measures adopted within a year by the forty eight state legislatures is greater than those of Congress in their short- an long-time importance.

Closest to our individual lives are county and city officials, and yet in ou relationship to these men and women we are too often guilty of gross politica irresponsibility. The strength of an autocracy is from above; that of democracy is from below. Hence the importance of how democracy works or rather who works it, at its community level. A layman who is an out standing civic and Church leader writes: "It is my observation that govern ment becomes more corrupt as you go from the top down. . . . It is when yo strike the local municipalities that you run into bribery, dishonest awardin of contracts, and the cheapest sort of ward politics. Yet it is in these loca communities that our Church people live and where we would expect thei influence to be the greatest."

What are the issues at stake for Congress, or within our state, or right a home? Where do the aspirants to public office, from senator to city alde man stand, in their character, training, and public position in reference t these issues? As Christian citizens let us prepare in the month that lie ahead to exercise worthily on all levels one of the great privileges of free people—the franchise.

The Church and Industrial Relations

"Whatever merit the report which we have agreed upo may have, I feel that the process by which we came our agreement is of perhaps even greater significance So said a member of the Advisory Committee that w

responsible for the study upon which the Report on the Church and Industrial Relations, approved by the last General Assembly, was based. "I feel that the experience which we have had in these six days together, over many months, should be duplicated in a host of our communities."

The Advisory Committee in its own experience represents perhaps the great creative task of the Church in industrial relations. Employer and employee, educator and social worker, business and professional people, laity and clergy—these came to know each other as together they faced highly controversial issues on which they and others hold strongly divergent views. "I believe," the chairman, Douglas P. Falconer, told General Assembly, "we would not have been able to reach the large area of agreement we did if we had not come and stayed together in the consciousness that we were fellow Christians."

The creative opportunity of the Church is to bring together men and women who will confront and resolve dynamic social issues in the spirit of understanding, justice, and brotherhood. The Report on the Church and Industrial Relations therefore is in itself not only clarifying and stimulating to thought, but a challenge to action as well, in the light of the method by which it was achieved.

Yale School of Alcohol Studies

The Director of the Department of Social Education and Action had the privilege of attending the School of Alcohol Studies at Yale University during July. The enrollment came from thirty-eight states and six Canadian provinces. Half of the 147 in attendance were ministers; educators were next in number; others included a judge, doctors and medical students, social workers and writers, and of particular interest, seven members of Alcoholics Anonymous.

Sponsored by a great university, the approach was scientific, objective, factual. The school is not reformist or propagandist. It tries rather to take the problem of beverage alcohol out of the field of "opinionatedness" and to establish its findings upon carefully sifted facts and tested opinions. Here, the director felt, was to be found the significant service of the Yale School: It gave the student a vast wealth of data—physiological, psychological, sociological, and therapeutic—upon which he might build his own evaluation of the use of and traffic in alcoholic beverages, and indicated an approach and method for future study.

Liquor Facts — Consumption and Costs

The following statement was released for publication on March 2, 1944, by the Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN consumers spent more than $6,000,000,000 for alcoholic beverages in 1943, or almost 7 per cent of expenditures for all goods and services, according to estimates for the Department of Commerce. The estimates include purchases both in package form and by the drink.

The 1943 consumer outlay for alcoholic beverages was 17 per cent more than in 1942 and almost 80 per cent above 1939 expenditures for these products. Per capita expenditures rose from $26 in 1939 to $39 in 1942 and to $46 in 1943.

Consumer expenditures for distilled spirits led the general increase. In 1941 and 1942 the rise in expenditures for distilled spirits was credited chiefly to an increase in the quantity consumed, while in 1943 the substantial decline in quantity was more than offset by a sharp rise in average unit price. The high volume of consumption in 1941 and 1942 and the cessation of domestic production in October, 1942, resulted in a rapid decline in warehouse stocks. This has been only partially compensated by an increase in imports from Mexico, Cuba, and South America.

Consumer expenditures for wine have shown a continuous upward trend since the repeal of prohibition. The quantity consumed rose from 33 million gallons in 1934 to a peak of 112 million gallons in 1942. A shortage developed last year as the result of a considerable drop in the 1942 wine production, particularly dessert wine, because the grape crop was below expectations and a large part of the raisin variety grapes, normally used for wine production, was allocated to other uses.

Heavy withdrawals were made from wine inventories in 1942 in order to meet the retail demand, leaving substantially less available for 1943. Stocks on hand in bonded wineries and storerooms declined 23 per cent from the end of 1941 to the end of 1942. The moderate rise in prices of domestic wines during the last three years has been largely due to the increase in excise taxes.

In the case of distilled spirits, the experts say, sharp increases in excise taxes have been the chief factor in increased unit costs. From a tax of $3 per gallon in July, 1940, the rate was raised to $4 per gallon in October, 1941, and to $6 per gallon in November, 1942.

Consumer expenditures for beer, both packaged and draught, comprised nearly two thirds of total expenditures for alcoholic beverages in 1934, compared with a little more than 40 per cent in 1943. However,

otal beer consumption has risen substantially, from 40 million barrels 31 gallons each) in 1910 to 74 million barrels in 1943. The variation in beer prices has been less than that of other alcoholic beverages.

Table I TAXPAID GALLONAGE OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES

Fiscal Years 1943–1944 [1]

	1944	*1943*
Distilled spirits [2]	212,946,640 gals.	219,946,640 gals.
Wines, cordials, etc.[3]	100,000,000 " est.	111,740,450 "
Beer	2,384,035,470 "	2,131,080,740 "
Total consumption	2,696,982,110 "	2,462,767,830 "
Per capita " [4]	20.3 "	18.5 "

[1] As indicated by sale of revenue stamps. Source: Distilled Spirits Institute, Inc., Washington, D.C.
[2] Includes domestic, imported, and Puerto Rican distilled spirits and rectified spirits.
[3] Internal Revenue Report.
[4] Total gallonage divided by total population exclusive of armed forces abroad.

Table II CONSUMER EXPENDITURES FOR ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES [1]

(Estimated)

Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1943

	1944	*1943*
Distilled spirits	(Not yet available)	$3,200,000,000
Wines, cordials, etc.	"	340,000,000
Beer	"	2,543,000,000
Total expenditure (estimated)	$6,143,830,000	$6,083,000,000
Per capita " [2] "	$50.30	$45.80

[1] Source: Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.
[2] Total expenditure divided by total population exclusive of armed forces abroad.

Table III FEDERAL LIQUOR TAX COLLECTIONS

Fiscal Years 1943–1944 [1]

	1944	*1943*	*+ or —*
Distilled spirits	$1,014,282,951	$923,640,313	+ 9.8%
Wines, cordials, etc.	37,324,467	37,395,948	— 0.2%
Beer	567,167,737	462,610,196	+22.6%
Total liquor taxes	$1,618,775,155	$1,423,646,457	+13.7%

[1] Source: Bureau of Internal Revenue, U. S. Treasury Department.

World Order Movement

By Cameron P. Hall *

Then justice shall dwell in the wilderness; and righteousness shall abide in the fruitful field. And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and confidence for ever.—Isa. 32: 16, 17.

"IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN" is the title of the chapter in which Sumner Welles reviews the choices and decisions made by the nations after World War I. When their balance was struck they added up to —World War II. The peoples of the world were not prepared for the problems that were to follow inevitably upon the close of hostilities. Nor were they able to marshal effectively their support behind policies that gave promise of better results. Will this happen again? Now is the time to determine that it shall not. The public mind must see that peace is a by-product of a process undertaken by men with faith in a universe rooted and grounded in the love God has toward all peoples; by men with good will as the ruling spirit and motive of their lives; by men who, as neighbors and citizens, work to establish human relations everywhere upon good will and justice.

We speak today of world order, by which we mean a world situation of which such a peace will be the by-product; that is, such organization of human relations, within and among the nations, as will assure peace with justice. Of the establishment o world order, the 156th General As sembly declared, "The Presbyteria Church, with its more than two mi lion members, has a responsibilit in this matter which in the sight o God it dare not evade."

Campaign of Education

As the means of discharging th responsibility the General Assembl envisaged the members of every loca Church, in their capacity as citizen and members of the world-wid Christian movement, united in Church-wide effort. Accordingly called upon "the Department Social Education and Action of th Board of Christian Education undertake, if the way be clear, o behalf of the entire Church, a cam paign of education for world orde co-opting as needed members other Boards and agencies and of th Church at large." The campaign, described by the General Assembl is to "create attitudes, understandin and action on the part of the membe of the churches in support of foreign policy that is in keeping wi the spirit of the findings of:

"The Report of the Special Co mittee on a Righteous Peace.

* Director of the Department of Social Education and Action, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

"The Statement of Political Principles of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches.

"Report of the Standing Committee of Social Education and Action."

The Motive

This World Order Movement in our Church is not a sporadic effort but rather it is the culmination of growing convictions:

A. The conviction of the Presbyterian Church that the full support of its members behind the effective participation of the United States in a world organization for continuing peace is urgently needed.

B. The belief of our people in the strength of united effort.

C. The concern of the Church that world order be established upon Christian principles and the determination to enhance its contribution to the total effort to that end.

The Objective

The purpose of the movement is to develop throughout the Church:

1. An intelligent understanding of the central issues involved in making the coming peace just and lasting.

2. Realization by each Christian of his involvement in the relationships of this nation with other nations and an acceptance of his responsibility for the adaption of such policies as will contribute to world order.

3. An understanding of what this responsibility demands of each Christian and how he may discharge it through his prayer life, in his reading, in his conversations with friends, neighbors, and business or professional associates, in his contacts with legislators and public officials, and in his participation in the life of the Church at home and abroad.

The Campaign Plan

Organization

United support of such a campaign was assured in conference with representatives of the Boards of Christian Education, National Missions, Foreign Missions, and the National Council of Presbyterian Churchwomen together with leaders "from the Church at large." Agreement has been reached on plans for a *World Order Movement* which will have a Church-wide sponsoring committee among whose members are:

Laymen:

Wilbur LaRoe, Washington, D. C.
President Harold W. Dodds, of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Robert E. Speer, Lakeville, Conn.
President Charles Turck, of Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.
Mrs. Rex S. Clements, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Mrs. Paul Moser, Topeka, Kans.
Alfred Hoffmann, Philadelphia, Pa.

Ministers:

Morgan P. Noyes, Montclair, N. J.
Ganse Little, Columbus, Ohio.
Harry T. Scherer, Webster Groves, Mo.
Rex S. Clements, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
J. Harry Cotton, Chicago, Ill.
John A. Mackay, Princeton, N. J.
Jesse B. Barber, Lincoln University, Pa.
Eugene C. Blake, Pasadena, Calif.
Ilion T. Jones, Iowa City, Iowa.
Henry P. Van Dusen, New York City.

The campaign will be under the supervision of an executive committee of representatives of the co-operating agencies together with a few individuals chosen because of their competence in special fields. Administrative responsibility has been placed in the Department of Social Education and Action, whose director will give his full time to the campaign. The Board of Christian Education will provide additional leadership to make this possible.

Campaign Activities

The movement will go forward under the impetus of the following:

A. *World Order Sunday*, to be observed on November 12, will mark the inauguration of the campaign. Materials on this theme will be sent to each Church.

B. A series of fifty one-day conferences, in as many communities, between November 13 and December 15 under visiting and local leadership. The all-day conference sessions will include an address on the current international situation which the Church confronts; two seminars, on "The United States and the Nations" and "The United States and the Races"; a period of inspiration and consecration; a youth rally; and an evening meeting with two addresses, on the responsibility of the Christian as a citizen in the body politic and as a member of the ecumenical Church.

C. A four-week period of study *in the local Church*, January 14 to February 14, 1945. Materials for congregational and for special age and interest groups will be available.

D. Other late-winter and spring events, related to emerging issues and developing situations in international relations.

Church Co-operation

The united effort of every local Church is needed if the Presbyterian Church is to make its greatest contribution to a world of ordered peace with justice. Each Church is urged, therefore, to consider the following suggestions, that:

1. The session consider how its Church may best take its full part in this movement for world order.

2. The leaders of the various Church organizations confer on clearance of dates, agreements on programs, development of leadership, et cetera.

3. A special leadership committee be organized to act as the spearhead of the Church's activity.

4. Your Church support, fully, through planning, leadership, and attendance, the one-day conference, if one is scheduled for your presbytery.

5. Your Church make this campaign a continuing element in its prayer life and that of its homes and its members.

6. The minister or the chairman of the leadership committee send to the Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, your suggestions and inquiries.

What Says GI Joe?

Report of a Quiz *

ONE of the popular pastimes of the day is to give the "straight from the horse's mouth" dope on what GI Joe is thinking, and what he will do with the country when he comes back to "take it over." This would be a harmless hobby if no one took it seriously. But some people in responsible positions are already beginning to base postwar policies on what they "know" GI Joe will do when he gets out of khaki.

A corporation personnel officer with wide experience and unusual opportunities for observation in the field here and abroad, discussing GI Joe's return, says: "So far as I can see now, our own company policy toward labor unions will remain unchanged after the war. That is only my personal view, and it is not shared by some of my colleagues in other large corporations. At least ten I could name are planning to crack down on unions after the war. They are counting on GI Joe to do the cracking for them. He will be bent on punishing labor, they say. For myself, I don't know what he will think.

"Have you read the survey made by *Iron Age*, the trade journal of the steel industry?" he asked. "It's a smart job. Instead of collecting gripe letters from GI's in Saipan or Normandy, they set out to discover what these boys may be thinking *after they come home.* So they quizzed twenty-two returned GI's in New York and Chicago.

"The twenty-two were not hand-picked. They were chosen only because they had served across the water, were medically discharged, were not suffering from a psychoneurosis, and were back on the job in industry. Otherwise they were chosen at random from names furnished by the WMC, unions, and the American Legion."

Jobs—Or Else

"Jobs were tops in the minds of these 22 men—jobs, or else. 'Vehemence' is the word *Iron Age* used to describe their manner of discussing the job outlook. As to the 'or else,' there was considerable variety. Some predicted a great comeback for gangsterism and racketeering if men are denied jobs. Others laid their money on a new march on Washington which wouldn't be so easily stopped at Anacostia Flats. 'There are too many to be pushed around—they will get what they want,' said one veteran.

"Sixteen insisted veterans should get job preference, to make up for the impossibility of saving while in

* From the *Service Bulletin*, Council for Democracy, New York.

service. Civilians could save, they said; soldiers couldn't.

"Should Negro veterans have the same job preference as white veterans? Two of the sixteen passed this question, admitting prejudice. One said, 'Absolutely no.' Thirteen said, 'Yes—with no difference in treatment.' The others hadn't thought about it.

"All twenty-two wanted private industry to provide the jobs.

"They unanimously pooh-poohed the idea that war workers are on easy street while the GI's are taking the gaff. Twenty admitted that while they were in service they believed newly rich war workers were squandering their unaccustomed wealth. Now, they declared, they have changed their minds. The rise in living costs has offset wage increases, they say. Three think wage earners were actually better off before the spurt in war production. Most of the money is made on overtime, six pointed out."

What About Unions?

"Now we come to the most interesting part of all," continued our personnel man, "the attitude toward unions as a means of job protection. Here, if *Iron Age* is right, the current dope is all wrong.

"Twenty out of the twenty-two said unions are good things—the only voice the employee possesses. Of the twenty, two called unions a 'necessary evil'; six felt that their political power should be curbe

"Two opposed unions altogethe one on the ground that they have r place in our economy; the other b cause they are only for 'dumb guy

"Fourteen, though opposed to wa time strikes, thought unions shou keep this potent weapon after wa

"Thirteen, favored the close shop. They say it affords the be worker protection, and that all wh benefit should pay dues.

"All twenty-two favored Gover ment audit of union statements."

So What?

"What does *Iron Age* prove? asks our personnel executive. "Not ing—except what twenty-two alread postwar veterans think. But th much can be said: *Iron Age* doesn seem to have any ax to grind. It wa talking to steel men. It could easil have pleased them by picking u rumors in and around overse camps. A good soldier alwa grouses, and a high-pressure ope shopper—or closed-shopper f that matter—could steam them up prove almost anything.

"The moral? There isn't any, a there needn't be any, provided we s our house in order to give full e ployment, and set our minds in orde so that demagogues can't easily mu them up. Joe will certainly grouse he comes home to a bread line. H won't grouse—or won't grouse qui so much—if he comes home to a goo job. Give him a break!"

"No Private Collectivism": A Challenge

(Continued from page 15)

Instead of cutting prices to distribute its potential product, it has maintained them and wasted resources on costly methods of promoting sales. In all of these ways it has used its power over price not to promote industrial activity but to retard it. This is not private enterprise; it is private unenterprise, and for it there is no case to be made.

If we are really to return to a system of economic individualism, the line of public policy is clear. At the end of this war, instead of raising tariffs we shall lower them. We shall repeal the Webb-Pomerene Act, which facilitates American participation in international cartels.

We shall reform our patent system. We shall repeal the many other statutes that operate to exclude competitors from markets, to handicap the efficient seller and to protect the inefficient: the state laws that permit resale price maintenance and prohibit sales below cost, the Federal Miller-Tydings Act, and certain provisions of the Robinson-Patman Act, the discriminatory taxation of chain stores, and the numerous barriers to trade between the states.

We shall abandon the subsidization of agriculture, the proration of petroleum, and the establishment of minimum prices for coal. We shall permit motor carriers and water carriers to compete for traffic on equal terms with carriers by rail. We shall strengthen the antitrust division and the Federal Trade Commission and proceed vigorously to enforce the laws forbidding restraint of trade.

Instead of holding Government surpluses off the market as a means of maintaining highly profitable prices, we shall release them at a rate that will stimulate healthy competition in price. Instead of padlocking, dismantling, or exporting the Government's war plants, we shall sell or lease them to new enterprises or, failing this, we shall operate them as yardsticks in order to provide fresh competition for established firms.

The sincerity of the proponents of private enterprise may be determined by a simple test. If they will support this line of public policy, it will be clear that they mean what they say. But if they cling to prohibitive tariffs, to the restrictive characteristics of our patent system, and to our many other impediments to freedom of trade; if they insist upon the relaxation of the antitrust laws, the freezing of Government surpluses, and the sterilization of Government plants, then it will be clear that private enterprise is not the thing they seek. For such a line of policy points not toward economic individualism but toward private collectivism; not toward vigorous competition and industrial progress but toward stagnation and decay.

It is to be hoped that the leaders of business are prepared to accept the implications of the freedom of enterprise which they so warmly espouse; that our postwar economy is to be organized not for restriction but for expansion; that peacetime America will rival wartime America in the maintenance of production; that private enterprise in America will match public enterprise in Russia in the maintenance of employment; that the demonstrated powers of our industry will be permitted to bear fruit in higher planes of living and in the assurance of security for the masses of our people.

The ways that lie before American business are three. The first leads to an economy of private enterprise, the second to an economy of private cartels, the third to an economy of public regimentation. But the second and third of these roads must ultimately converge. For concentrated public power will challenge concentrated private power and, though the struggle may be long and bitter, the state will finally prevail. If we are to escape public collectivism, we must prevent private collectivism. There is no other way.

Sanctuary

Meditation and Prayer for Self-mastery

Soul, rule thyself. On passion, deed, desire
Lay thou the law of thy deliberate will.
Stand at thy chosen post, faith's sentinel
Learn to endure. Thine the reward
Of those who make the living Light their Lord.
Masters, not slaves.

Anon.

Opening Sentences:

Leader: "The God that made the world and all things therein . . . is not far fro
each one of us: for in him we live, and move, and have our being."

Response: Quicken me, O Lord, for thy name's sake. Cause me to know the wa
wherein I should walk; for I lift up my soul unto thee.

Prayer of Invocation:

"O God, Light of the minds that see Thee, Life of the souls that love Thee, ar
Strength of the thoughts that seek Thee, enlarge our minds and raise the visio
of our hearts, that with swift wings of thought our spirits may reach Thee, th
eternal Wisdom, who art from everlasting to everlasting; through Jesus Christ, o
Lord. Amen." *A Prayer of Saint Augustine.*

Hymn: "Holy Spirit, Truth Divine" (Tune, "Mercy").

Responsive Scripture Reading:

"Know ye not that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit which is in you, whi
ye have from God?"

"Glorify God therefore in your body."

"I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, to present your bodi
a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your spiritual service."

"If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us also walk."

"Jesus saith, . . . A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one anothe
even as I have loved you."

"Love worketh no ill to his neighbor: love therefore is the fulfilment of the law."

"For ye, brethren, were called for freedom; only use not your freedom for an o
casion to the flesh, but through love be servants one to another."

*"Let us not therefore judge one another any more: but judge . . . this rather, th
no man put a stumblingblock in his brother's way, or an occasion of falling."*

Prayer:

O God, our heavenly Father, who hast so loved the world as to give thy Son for its redemption, we thank thee for the abundant life which Jesus brought to men. Help us, O Lord, to find in the Christian way the source of all our happiness. Forgive our folly, we beseech thee, when we seek escape from the pressures of life by unworthy or questionable means. Deliver us from the occasional or persistent temptation to harmful indulgence and from the dominance of destructive and unworthy habits. Teach us, our Father, to love and serve our fellow men. Let no word or act of ours be a stumbling block or an injury to anyone who looks to us as friend or who unknown to us may be influenced by our words or acts. Give us the courage to do the right as thou dost give us to see the right. With all our beings may we honor thee and walk as the ambassadors of thy love to the children of men. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

For Meditation: A Message from Paul.

It is my prayer that your love may be more and more rich in knowledge and in all manner of insight, enabling you to have a sense of what is vital. . . . I am provided with the Spirit of Jesus Christ—my eager desire and hope being that I may never feel ashamed, but that . . . I may do honour to Christ in my own person by fearless courage. *Phil. 1: 9, 10, 19, 20, Moffatt's Translation.*[1]

Stir up the gift of God, which is in thee. . . . For God gave us not a spirit of fearfulness; but of power and love and discipline. *II Tim. 1: 6, 7.*

Every man that striveth in the games exerciseth self-control in all things. . . . I therefore so run. . . . I buffet my body, and bring it into bondage: lest by any means, after that I have preached to others, I myself should be rejected. *I Cor. 9: 25-27.*

Prayer:

"O God, our Father, stir up our hearts and wills, that we may attain more of self-mastery. Help us this day to think and speak and do only such things as will leave no regret. May we have reverence for all that is good: may we hate all that is selfish and base. In our contacts and relationships with our fellows may we have only the spirit of courtesy, good will, and helpfulness. So may we become masters of our own lives, strong to control our desires, and resolute to match our action to our highest thought. Through Jesus Christ our Lord."

[1] From *The Bible: A New Translation,* by James Moffatt. Used by permission of Harper & Brothers, Publishers.

The Workshop

Alaska Presbytery on Liquor

WHEREAS, the Presbyterian Church, in the words of the General Assembly of 1940, "has for many years maintained an unwavering opposition to the liquor traffic as an antisocial and economically wasteful industry, and to the use of beverage alcohol as a character-destroying personal indulgence and as a betrayal of social responsibility."

WHEREAS within the Territory of Alaska we recognize that these conditions do exist:

1. Unlimited amounts of liquor may be purchased by the individual.
2. An excessive number of retail liquor establishments compete with each other within the confines of each community.
3. Liquor is recognized as the greatest menace to the future of the youth of Alaska.
4. Liquor is recognized as one of the direct causes of disintegration of many Alaskan homes.

Therefore we recommend:

That ministers and lay workers of Alaska Presbytery frequently and without equivocation lay before their people, and young people especially, the effects—physical, social, and spiritual—of the use of alcoholic beverage, calling upon every Christian to re-examine this matter as it affects his own home and home life to the end that all who bear the name of Christ may have no part in the encouragement of a traffic which our Church has so consistently and unsparingly condemned.

That Christians keep informed as to the activities of the liquor traffic, and of the legal and social means of its control; and that they act intelligently upon proposed legislation in reference to the liquo traffic.

That copies of this resolution be sent t all religious and benevolent organization and all other agencies entrusted with social and moral welfare of the people o the Territory of Alaska.

April 15, 1944

PRESBYTERY OF ALASK
A. D. Swogger, Stated Cler

Vanguards of Brotherhood. The In terracial Commission of the Chicag Church Federation has been laying th groundwork for a real affront against rac prejudice and discrimination in Chicago

Under the leadership of Dr. J. Harr Cotton, President of McCormick Theo logical Seminary, the committee has con ducted numerous round-table discussion and has made direct recommendations t appropriate agencies with regard to ove crowding of schools in the Negro area, in adequate housing for Negroes, and em ployment of Negroes in the city transport tion systems.

In consultation with Dr. Haines, Direc tor of Race Relations of the Federal Cou cil of Churches, the committee is no planning a city-wide program that will en list the resources of good will in all th protestant Churches of Chicago. Eac Church will be asked to name a committe of three persons—one man, one woma and one young person. They will atten a regional training school where they wi learn the history of other races, obtai factual knowledge of present racial in justices, and be schooled in techniques fo bringing together racial groups in exp riences of friendship and understandin

These committees will become the va guards for brotherhood and racial justic in local Churches; they will be listenin posts for ugly false rumors and will he

disprove and silence them before they use tension and incite violence; they ill help local Church groups to arrange equent joint meetings with similar groups Negro Churches; and they will be the gencies through which the Interracial ommission will arrange city-wide confer- nces that will bring together Christian egroes and whites of all denominations. The commission is proceeding on the as- umption that interracial friendships and nderstanding are the indispensable foun- ation for every kind of direct action in ehalf of racial justice, and that it is the nique genius and imperative duty of the hurch to build that foundation of good ill and understanding.

Community Forum in Nashville. So uccessful was the first community forum hat a second series of four was planned nd carried through by the Hillsboro resbyterian Church, in co-operation with he neighboring Belmont Methodist hurch on the theme: "For the Next Dec- de in Nashville, What of Our Neighbor- oods, Churches, Schools, Homes?"

Experienced speakers were selected to ssure an authoritative statement on each ubject:

The Chairman of the Research and Plan- ing Committee of the Council of Com- unity Agencies presented some of the ve neighborhood concerns of the hurches, and the discussion resulted in o-operative action of Church and com- unity to better conditions.

The minister of a leading downtown hurch spoke on behalf of the Churches. s a result of the presentation a Nashville yman's association acting as a city coun- l of Churches has been organized.

For the schools, the superintendent of he city schools presented a program which as brought about already developments hich the most optimistic thought might ke the full ten years to accomplish. is talk has been repeated before other roups and received a column write-up in the local newspapers.

Speaking for the homes, the vice-president for the southeastern area of the United Council of Church Women emphasized the importance of parental direction.

The general discussion following each presentation is deemed of equal importance with the securing of good speakers, and a skillful leader, an experienced professor, made each topic vital and helpful.

The forums were held on successive Wednesday evenings, two in each Church, as the program for church nights. Though not largely attended, they did attract the thoughtful members of the Churches and the resulting action went far beyond expectation. *Reported by F. K. W. Drury, Librarian, Public Library, Nashville, Tennessee.*

Group Friendship Project. A group of ten Jamaicans employed on farms west of Cass City, Michigan, were guests at a friendship supper on the lawn of another farm home one evening last summer. Twenty-two in all were seated about the tables.

The supper was sponsored by the Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church as a project in social action and international fellowship. After supper the minister welcomed the men, and Wilfred Baker responded for the group, expressing their thanks and appreciation. This was followed by a hymn sung by the group and a Jamaican cheer. An hour of visitation and questions and answers about native customs ensued, and the evening was concluded with Scripture and prayer by the Church pastor.

The young men came from St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. In their homeland several are members of the Thornton Presbyterian Church under the British Missionary Society and others are members of the Ockbrook Moravian Church. They attended the Communion service at the local Church on the following Sunday. *Reported by M. R. Vender, Cass City, Michigan.*

About Books

The Ten Commandments: Ten Short Novels of Hitler's War Against the Moral Code. Edited by Armin L. Robinson, with a preface by Herman Rauschning. Simon and Schuster. $3.00.

Some months ago Carl Carmer in his book *The War Against God*, in support of the claim that the Nazis and Japanese are waging actual war against God, presented the collected statements of enemy leaders. Over against this evidence he set the testimony of anti-Fascists in defense of our Judaeo-Christian heritage. *The Ten Commandments* attempts a similar task: the exposure of what Herman Rauschning in his preface calls, "Hitler's battle against the Ten Commandments." This statement Rauschning supports with an account of a conversation at "an intimate gathering in Berlin" in which Hitler declares plainly his intention to fight for "the destruction of Judaism" and "the extinction of Christian slave morals."

The exposé of the Nazi assault in this volume is made by ten distinguished writers—seven Europeans and three Americans—each contributing a story on the theme of one Commandment. Thomas Mann has as his theme the First Commandment: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." Writing in his characteristic style, he tells the story of Moses' struggle to lead his own people not only from Egyptian bondage but into an understanding of the "invisible God" and of the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai, the basis of our Christian moral code. Against this background, the other nine novelettes build up a fearful indictment of Nazi antimoral purpose and practice.

Rebecca West interprets the Second Commandment by dealing with Copenhagen during the German invasion; Franz Werfel takes the Third Commandment as his theme: "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." He tells the deeply moving story of a young rabbi in an Austrian frontier town, who was the hero of "the true story of the profaned and reconsecrated cross"; Bruno Frank depicts the fate of German youth caught in the net of Nazi perversion that makes the Fifth Commandment read, for them, "Thou shalt *not* honor thy father and thy mother." And so on to the end. The book as a rather unusual anthology, is interesting and at points exciting, although the contributions of the writers vary in quality and in effectiveness. But as anti-Nazi testimony the cumulative effect of the stories is tremendous. One closes the book with a feeling of depression and foreboding. Yet one feels too a sense of elation. For even in persecution and seeming defeat these "disinherited" were victorious. And so also can we be victorious in the spiritual crisis that confronts Christianity and the world.

E.G.R.

Thirteen Against the Odds, by Edwin R. Embree. Viking. $2.75.

The author of this interesting collection of biographical sketches is well known as the president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund and for his *Brown America*, and other books on the Negro question. Perhaps even better known, by name at least, are most of the thirteen Negro men and women whose names make up the roster of celebrities of this book. This book makes them living personalities, "model pioneers," as the author calls them, who in the traditional pioneer spirit, have scorned every handicap and have successfully scaled the heights to greatness.

The author did not himself choose the names to appear on this honor role. Rather they are the choice of some two hundred people, both colored and white, who, at the request of the author, cast their ballots for the "greatest living Negroes." Among

he thirteen are the familiarly known: Marian Anderson, Langston Hughes, Charles S. Johnson, Mordecai Johnson, Joe Lewis, A. Philip Randolph, Paul Robeson, Richard Wright, and others. This is a dramatic and inspiring story of fellow Americans of whom we may all be justly proud. E.G.R.

TVA: Democracy on the March, by David E. Lilienthal. Harper. $2.50.

This is the story of what *has* happened in the Tennessee Valley and what *can* happen in other areas of our country when seemingly barren places are turned over to competent engineers and men of daring vision. There is no pleading in this book and no espousal of political or social creeds. It is a straightforward, factual account, illustrated with excellent photographs, of one of the most amazing physical transformations that has altered the topography of any country.

Mr. Lilienthal witnessed the entire procedure from its impetus to its completion. As chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority he knew everything that was going on and what step was expected next. The author is not a professional writer, so his book cannot be considered a literary achievement. Moreover, he wrote it while still carrying on his duties as TVA administrator. It therefore lacks the polish and finish that it otherwise might have. But as a story of a great accomplishment it is magnificent.

Mr. Lilienthal's philosophy is best summed up in his own statement: "I believe men may learn to work in harmony with the forces of nature, neither despoiling what God has given, nor helpless to put them to use. I believe in the great potentialities for well-being of the machine and technology and science; and though they do hold a real threat of enslavement and frustration for the human spirit, I believe these dangers can be averted."

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

Round Trip to Russia, by Walter Graebner. Lippincott. $3.00.

This book is an interesting addition to the rapidly growing literature on Russia written from every conceivable point of view. It is the record of a journey Mr. Graebner made as a correspondent of the Luce publications to Russia in 1942. It is good reportorial writing and therefore good reading. The book is full of helpful insights. According to Mr. Graebner, "In all probability the Russians believe in their system." They probably like it "more now than they ever did before" and "seem to get along better with one another under Socialism than Americans do under Capitalism." W.C.L.

Four Freedoms and God, by Edwin McNeil Poteat. Harpers. $1.50.

Probably thousands of ministers have used the Four Freedoms as a basis for sermonic material. This book is not simply another contribution to this sermonic flood. It is an intelligent effort to direct that flood to the accomplishment of a purpose.

Oppressed with the knowledge that challenging slogans such as "Make the World Safe for Democracy," became the target of postwar disillusionment, Dr. Poteat writes with deep concern to prevent the Four Freedoms' becoming another slogan to be ridiculed in a postwar world. He discusses each of the four freedoms, following a general pattern:

(1) Freedom of speech is sociological. Freedom of religion is religious. Freedom from want is economic. Freedom from fear is psychological. Each freedom is related to a definite part of man's nature and to discredit it is a blow to that aspect of man's nature. (2) For the development of mankind in these fields, freedom is a necessity. (3) The freedom that makes for the full development of man is spiritual.

This threefold development to a final conclusion relates each freedom at last to man's dedication to God, not simply be-

cause it is spiritual, but as a way of accomplishing a goal.

The challenge is not a challenge to defend present freedoms but to establish these freedoms in every relationship. "It is the spiritually creative alone who are spiritually free."

JOHN FIELD MULHOLLAND

Religion and World Order, F. Ernest Johnson, editor. Harpers. $2.00.

This volume contains a series of sixteen lectures given during the academic year 1942-1943 at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, under the Institute for Religious Studies, established "to enable ministers of all faiths to study under the guidance of scholars representing different religious groups." Dr. Johnson acted as moderator of the course as well as editor of this record of the lectures in which he had the helpful assistance of the lectures themselves.

Under the unifying theme of the postwar world and its problems, leaders of recognized intellectual standing in the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups analyzed specific problems which members of the several faiths must confront and indicated the ways in which religious leadership can contribute to a permanent world order.

No single thesis is developed by the lectures. Indeed, as the editor points out, they vary widely in approach and in the degree to which they may be called religious in a technical sense. But rather than looking upon this as a fault he sees in it rather "a wholesome indication of the increasingly wide range of contemporary religious concern."

The first four lectures deal with religious factors in the present world situation—secularism, trends in religious thought, religious liberty, and religion in democracy. In the next three lectures Henry P. Van Dusen, John La Farge, S. J., and Ben Zion Baker, survey the proposals for postwar reconstruction. Then follow discussions of the political, economic, and cultural basis of reconstruction. The last six lectures deal with problems of education, international law, labor, the role of government, opinion-making in the postwar world, and lessons learned from the League.

The importance of the insights given and of the material presented is attested by the participants among whom, in addition to those already mentioned, are: Paul J. Tillich, Luther H. Weigle, Edmund de S. Brunner, Robert M. MacIver, Raymond Leslie Buell, and Felix Morley. This is not a book to be "read at a sitting" but one to be read and kept at hand for reference.

E.G.R.

A Faith to Free the People, by Cedric Belfrage. Dryden Press. $2.75.

Claude Williams, whose dramatic story Cedric Belfrage tells in this book, is well known to many Presbyterians as the founder of the People's Institute of Applied Religion and as the Industrial War Chaplain in the Presbytery of Detroit where he is giving unique service.

The story begins with Claude Williams' birth into a "poor-white," sharecropper family and his boyhood in the Tennessee hills, and follows him through his experiences as a preacher who preached the Gospel as he understood it and followed the truth wherever it led, unafraid. His fearlessness has led him through trials, persecutions, and prison as he has worked among miners, sharecroppers, and now among the industrial workers of Detroit.

This has been called by Carey Williams, the author of *Brothers Under the Skin,* "a shockingly important book on America's most dangerous problem: race relations," and the editorial director of United Auto Workers, C.I.O., hopes to see the book "in every local union library throughout the country."

E.G.R.

Study and Action

World Order

Fundamentals of the International Organization—General Statement. Fourth Report. *Free.*

Time Has Come for Action—How Should the General International Organization Be Built? by Clark M. Eichelberger. *10 cents.*
Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

U. S. Foreign Trade and World Economy, by Howard P. Whidden, Jr.
U. S. Plans for World Organization, by Vera Micheles Dean.
Bretton Woods Monetary Conference Plans and Achievements.
On the Threshold of World Order, by Vera Micheles Dean. Headline Series.
Winning the Peace, by Thomas P. Brockway. Problems of Reconstruction.
Foreign Policy Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y. *25 cents each.*

Political Action

1944 Campaign Number—*Social Action,* September, 1944. Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. *15 cents.*

The Coming Election and Women's Responsibility. Public Affairs News Service. The Womans Press, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. *28 cents.*

****Christians in Political Action.*** A Handbook for Citizens. Department of Social Education and Action. Order from any Presbyterian Book Store. *10 cents.*

Race Relations

The Negro in America, by Maxwell S. Stewart.
The Races of Mankind, by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish.
What About Our Japanese-Americans? by Carey McWilliams.
Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y. *10 cents each.*

Community

Coming Home—To What? Demobilization Bulletin Number 5. The Department of Christian Education of Adults, The Methodist Board of Education, 810 Broadway, Nashville 2, Tennessee. *10 cents.*

National Go-to-School Drive, 1944-1945. A handbook for communities. Addressed to parents, teachers, and community leaders. Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington 25, D. C. *Free.*

Straight from the Shoulder, by Roy E. Dickerson. Addressed primarily to high school boys soon to be enrolled in the armed services. Deals frankly with the recruit's problems of sex adjustment. Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. *10 cents each; $1.00 for 12.*

Important!

This listing of materials is for the reader's information. Leaflets, except as indicated by an asterisk (*), are not stocked in Presbyterian Book Stores, and cannot be furnished by them. They must be ordered directly from publishers as indicated.

Current Films

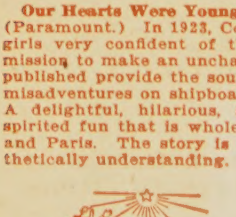
These estimates of current films are offered in response to the action of the General Assembly, 1935 requesting such a previewing service to be made available from the Department of Social Education and Action. The following evaluations are based on "Selected Pictures" issued by the National Board of Review. Their inclusion in this listing is not to be construed as recommendation but as the best available comment on current films.

The Great Mr. Handel—with Wilfrid Lawson and Elizabeth Allan. (Midfilm.) A portrait in color and music of the early eighteenth-century composer, George Frederick Handel. It deals with that unhappy period of his life which reached its climax in the conception of his majestic masterpiece "The Messiah." Many of his greatest works, played by the London Philharmonic Orchestra, embellish the story of Handel's rise from the depths of poverty and misfortune which engulfed him after his open defiance of the foppish and insolent prince of Wales. The film, in exquisite color photography, with an excellent cast and faultless direction, re-creates the great composer with sincerity and spiritual strength, and rekindles interest in his immortal music. **Family.**

Wilson—with Alexander Knox and Charles Coburn. (Twentieth-Century-Fox.) This biographical film pictures the American people in time of war, and what it means to be their President. The public and private life of Woodrow Wilson from Princeton to Washington is shown against an extraordinarily accurate and colorful historical background of the period, including his tragic fight for the League and his departure from the White House. Infinite care and skillful direction are manifest in every aspect of the film. Alexander Knox, in a remarkably believable characterization of Mr. Wilson shows the man's weakness as well as his strength. A well-written script and a carefully chosen and competent cast make this technicolor film worthy of its great subject, and deeply significant in this second struggle to unite the world for peace. **Family.**

An American Romance—with Brian Donlevy and Ann Richards. (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.) The romance of America's tremendous industrial growth is pictured in technicolor in a story which begins in 1898 with the arrival at Ellis Island of a European immigrant, eager, inquisitive, and indefatigable. As an iron miner the hero learns to read and write. Then curiosity and ambition lead him to the steel mills and eventually to a place of power in automotive production. The theme of the great steel industry is fascinating and offers wide and dramatic possibilities. But while the scenes in the great steel mill showing the developments from ore to airplanes are impressive, the film is curiously impersonal. It never quite grips the emotions. **Mature—Family.**

Our Hearts Were Young and Gay—with Gail Russell, Diana Lynn, and Charles Ruggles. (Paramount.) In 1923, Cornelia Otis Skinner and Emily Kimbrough, a pair of Bryn Mawr girls very confident of their own sophistication, secured their families' reluctant permission to make an unchaperoned tour of Europe. Their reminiscences in a book recently published provide the source of this comedy, which accompanies them through laughable misadventures on shipboard, in London, Paris, and famous resort places of the Continent. A delightful, hilarious, amusing comedy abounding in youthful zest, adventure, and spirited fun that is wholesomely entertaining. There are interesting glimpses of London and Paris. The story is cleverly written and the direction skillful, smooth, and sympathetically understanding. **Family.**



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